



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

A MODERN ROMAN STATE

MASON D. GRAY
East High School, Rochester, N. Y.

In the preceding paper I described in detail the organization of the Roman state and the steps necessary in its formation. In the following I shall attempt to show how this organization, in itself but a skeleton, became a living organism through the interest excited by the campaign, the election, and the subsequent activities of the state and its officials. This division, however, is logical, not temporal; for each step in the former process was associated with a corresponding development in the second.

In the progress of the campaign several stages may be noted. First comes a period of desultory canvassing (*ambitus*) and booming of candidates, corresponding to the period before our party conventions, and beginning an indefinite period before the election (e. g., Cicero began his canvass nearly two years in advance). This stage is terminated by the public declaration (*professio*) on the part of candidates of their intention to run for office. While in Pompeii *professiones* could be made up to the day before the election, it is probable that at Rome they were required in time to be included in the edict of convocation, which thus terminated the preliminary campaign, and corresponds roughly to our party conventions. Then follows the real campaign, which is closed by the election itself. I shall describe in succession: (1) the preliminary campaign; (2) the *professio*; (3) the edict of convocation; (4) the election; (5) the entrance into office.

The list of officials elected by our state has grown during the three years of its existence, till this year we elected a complete set of civil, military, and religious officials, as follows: civil: 2 *censores*, 2 *consules*, 8 *praetores*, 10 *tribuni plebis*, 2 *aediles curules*, 2 *aediles plebis*, 20 *quaestores*, 26 *viri*; military: 2 *viri navales*, 24 *tribuni militum*; religious: 15 *pontifices*, 15 *augures*, 15 *viri sacris faciundis*, 7 *viri epulones*.

There are thus 72 civil officials, 26 military, and 52 religious, making a total of 150. The first step was to instruct the citizens as to what offices they were variously eligible. We are gradually establishing the ancient *cursus honorum*, and this last year no one ran for consul, unless he had previously been elected prætor, or had been defeated for the consulship. The ædileship or quæstorship was made necessary a preliminary to the prætorship. Next year the complete *cursus* will be put in force, consisting of quæstor, prætor, and consul, with the holding of a subordinate office, civil or military (*viginti-sex vir, tribunus militum, vir navalis*), a desirable, although not indispensable, qualification. These regulations produce, for the civil and military officials, the following general scheme: First-year pupils are eligible to the offices of *viginti-sex vir, tribunus militum, vir navalis*, and occasionally quæstor; second-year pupils, to quæstor, ædile, *tribunus plebis*, and prætor; third-year pupils, to prætor, ædile, *tribunus plebis*, consul, and censor; fourth-year pupils, to consul, censor, and *tribunus plebis*. The ancient provision that one censor and one consul should be plebeians, and that both might be, is imitated by the regulation that one consul and one censor must be third-year pupils, and that both may be. The practical object of this is to insure the presence here next year of at least one of the consuls and one of the censors elected this year.

The religious officials, as respects tenure of office, have not yet been placed on a basis strictly Roman. Thus far they have been elected each year, but as soon as every department of the state is working smoothly, we shall probably substitute life-tenure; i. e., a successful candidate will hold the office so long as he remains in school. Annual re-election at first serves, moreover, to secure greater familiarity with these offices than would the immediate introduction of the actual conditions. In general, first-year pupils may become *VII viri epulones* or *XV viri sacris faciundis*; second-year pupils, *XV viri sacris faciundis* or *augures*; third- and fourth-year pupils, *augures* or *pontifices*. The *pontifex maximus* is always the fourth-year pupil that carried the largest number of tribes. When life-tenure is introduced, the *pontifex maximus* will thereafter be elected by the *pontifices* themselves from their own number.

Each class was first informed of the offices to which its members

were in general eligible, and the functions of these officials were briefly described. We limited our efforts in each class to just those officials with whom it was concerned, and thus, in the beginning classes, but five or six were discussed. The *principes* in particular were carefully instructed as to the eligibility of their *magistri* and *discentes*; and they, especially in the lower classes, guided the choice. Each *princeps* was furnished a list of the officers concerned, a printed description of them, and the approximate number that should run in his guild for each office—a number chosen to secure, in general, three candidates for every office. Then began a period of preliminary discussion and canvassing among the pupils, the result of which was to clarify their ideas as to the relative importance and desirability of the various offices, and thus to determine their choice. This period was marked by the appearance of the first inscriptions, which from that point form an essential element in the campaign. For these inscriptions the election notices found at Pompeii are made the basis. The first-year pupils are given some account of Pompeii, of its destruction and excavation. At this point, too, they are introduced to Bulwer's *Last Days of Pompeii*, the reading of which is required during the first year. They are then made familiar with typical forms of inscriptions, which indicate clearly that in theory, however it may have been in reality, the office sought the man. The candidate never takes the initiative, never announces his own candidacy, never speaks in his own name. It is his neighbors, friends, and relatives who assemble, discuss and weigh his merits, his chances of success, and decide that he shall run for office. Not until their opinions have been widely expressed through the only newspapers they possessed, the inscriptions, does the candidate formally announce his intention. These inscriptions are found all over Pompeii, painted on the walls of houses and shops, usually in red, about four feet from the ground, in letters of varying regularity. Owners of buildings derived considerable profit, evidently, by renting space to candidates and their friends. Inscriptions belonging to the preliminary campaign purport to have been written by neighbors, friends, or clients of a Pompeian citizen, urging him to run for this or that office, and contain four essential elements: (1) name, in accusative case, of the person who is urged to run;

(2) name, in accusative case, of the office; (3) name, in nominative case, of person or *collegium* urging him to run; (4) verbal phrase. E. g.: *Casellium Marcellum aed(ilem) rog(ant) vicini*—the neighbors of Marcellus urge him to run for ædile; *Trebiium aed. tonsores (rogant)*—the guild of barbers urges Trebius to run for ædile; *Celsum aed. Genialis rog.*—Genialis urges Celsus to run for ædile. The verbal phrase is usually a simple rogant, abbreviated *Rog. R.*

We found it necessary to prescribe that the English name of the person proposed should be used with Latin terminations, and the Latin name of the one proposing him; for the former must be intelligible to all who read the inscriptions, if his candidacy is to be promoted, while the latter is of secondary importance, and of value mainly in familiarizing each citizen with his own name. At this time the ædile found it desirable, as general superintendent of public streets, buildings, etc., to issue a proclamation—in Latin, of course—defining the hours within which inscriptions could be posted, and under what circumstances they could be erased, limiting strictly the available spaces, and forbidding at the same time any excessive demonstrations. He also attached a heavy penalty to the introduction of any modern and foreign (i. e., English) barbarisms into the purity of the Latin tongue.

Meanwhile each citizen is deciding for what office he shall run, and is assisted materially in his choice by the action of the political parties. The development of the political parties in our state has been very interesting, for it has been entirely spontaneous, and thus indicative of genuine political spirit. The first year the nearest approach to a party was the mutual support given one another by about ten candidates, who did some effective electioneering, and on election morning circulated a ticket comprising their names. Every member of this ticket was elected, and its success suggested to others the formation of similar combinations the following year. One of these combinations began heading all their notices with the legend *S. P. Q. R.* and, since this suggested conservatism, at length called themselves *Optimates*. Thereupon their rivals assumed ancient names till these were exhausted, and then invented new ones. There were five in all: *Optimates*, *Populares*, *Equestres*, *Res Publica*, and *Combinantes (sic)*. This year we succeeded in limiting them to three

ancient parties: *Optimates*, *Populares*, and *Equestres*. As a result, there are now established fairly well-defined party traditions and a recognized party leadership. The rivalry and competition among them, in their desire to pledge the best candidates to their party, was itself sufficient to orient the entering pupils and initiate them into the campaign, especially since each party drew up a complete set of candidates for each office. In this respect we deviated slightly from ancient conditions, and in place of real principles to bind together the members of a party, we were obliged to substitute a more definite organization than probably existed in the days of Cæsar and Cicero. This procedure was fairer to all concerned, since it insured, for example, sixty candidates for the quæstorship, all starting on an equal basis; whereas, if each party supported but a limited number, six or seven, the twenty on the three tickets would not be opponents at all, but would doubtless all be elected to the exclusion of the forty not on any ticket. This method, moreover, secured the three candidates desired for each office and insured the active interest of 450 candidates for the 150 offices. At the same time, it made the propagation of this interest through the remainder of the school an inevitable result, since each party, starting thus with 150 adherents, must depend for victory upon winning supporters among the 400 citizens not running for office. It follows that no one would care to run unless he was on one of the three tickets; but this was practically no injustice, for each party had difficulty in filling the last half-dozen places. When the party tickets were complete, and it was evident that everyone had reached a decision, the candidates made their *professio*, or formal declaration to the official that was to preside at the election, of their intention to run for a stated office. To avoid confusion, however, the *consul*, *praetor*, *tribunus plebis*, and *pontifex maximus* sent representatives to each class, and the candidates rising gave their names and the offices involved to these representatives, who passed upon the eligibility of each candidate, and finally published a complete list of the candidates for each office.

This preliminary campaign is brought to a close by a proclamation of the *consul* at least seventeen days before the date selected for the election, summoning the *comitia centuriata* to meet in the Campus

Martius, and enumerating the officials to be elected by this assembly, viz.: 2 *censores*, 2 *consules*, 8 *praetores*.

The 8 *praetores* have meanwhile met and appointed one of their number, either by *comparatio* (agreement) or *sortitio* (lot), to issue a corresponding edict, summoning the *comitia tributa* and enumerating the officials to be elected by that assembly, viz.: 2 *aediles curules*, 20 *quaestores*, 26 *viri*, 2 *viri navales*, 24 *tribuni militum*.

The *pontifex maximus* then issued a similar edict, stating that on a certain day he would choose by lot 17 of the 35 tribes of the *comitia tributa*, and that these would proceed to elect the religious officials, viz.: 15 *pontifices*, 15 *augures*, 15 *viri sacris faciundis*, 7 *epulones*.

A *tribunus plebis*, selected as was the *praetor*, issued the proclamation summoning the *concilium plebis* and enumerating the offices to be filled, viz.: 10 *tribuni plebis*, 2 *aediles plebis*.

The same day was appointed for the meeting of all the electoral assemblies and the election of all officials—an abbreviation obviously necessary, although technically contrary to the ancient custom.

During the period following the *professio* and the edict of convocation, the campaign waxed hotter and hotter. The characteristic forms assumed by the *petitio*—i. e., the *prensatio*, *salutatio*, etc.—were to some extent imitated this year, and at the next campaign we expect to see the *candidati*, dressed in their togas and attended by their *nomenclatores*, *clientes*, etc. The greatest rivalry centered about the *principes*, for the party leaders felt that in gaining a *princeps* they had captured the most influential member of his *collegium*, and one that could probably carry it for them. The *princeps* consulted with his *magistri*, the *magistri* with the *discentes*; and the fruit of it all was a clear understanding of the ancient party system. The most conspicuous product of this period were the inscriptions, the fourth element of which now changes from a verbal phrase asking someone to run for office, to a phrase urging the people to vote for him. The letters *O. V. F.* constantly appear instead of *R.*, and represent *oro ut* (or *vos*) *faciatis*. Furthermore, the simple forms, employed mostly by first-year pupils and erased from the boards from day to day, develop through all possible intermediate stages into elaborate inscriptions in permanent form. Individual

candidates are extolled, promises made, opposing parties attacked, the claims now of one party, now another, presented to the citizens. Some really artistic work in painted inscriptions was done, while the amount and variety of the Latin employed would rival some of our prose books. A favorite mode of advertising was to parody well-known passages of Cæsar, Cicero, and Vergil. The first chapter of Cæsar especially lends itself to such treatment with the three parts of Gaul corresponding to the three parties, all of whom adapted it to their use. Here follows a portion of a *Popularis* adaptation:

Schola est omnis divisa in partes tres; quarum una Populares, alia Equestres, tertia Optimates appellatur. Hæ omnes sensu, animo, opinione inter se differunt. Harum omnium honestissimi sunt Populares, propterea quod a facinore et stultitia Equestrium et Optimatum longissime absunt. Populares credunt et pueros et puellas in gubernaculo æquam partem habere debere. Itaque omnes boni cives, et pueri et puellæ, ferte suffragia ad Populares et create Lowenthalum et Coddingtonam consules.

The value of these inscriptions cannot well be overestimated. To express a natural thought arising from one's personal experience, to further a real purpose, by the composition of a Latin sentence, is to most of our high-school pupils a rare experience and, when once felt, gives them a new feeling for the language. The question of Latin prose is always with us. No one doubts that the expression of natural ideas, ideas within the experience of the pupil, would be an ideal solution, did it not at once require a vocabulary, if not absolutely impossible, at least totally inconsistent with the requirements of the texts read. But in our state and its election we have a subject-matter that is within the immediate range of the pupil's experience and of interest to him, while the vocabulary required is strictly Cæsarian and Ciceronian. Time will be necessary to test the value of such a solution, but the experiment has opened up interesting and suggestive possibilities along that line. Imagine, for example, a state trial, such as we expect shortly to have, involving a case familiar to the pupils, acted out by them under the presidency of a prætor, and including some exhibition of the tribune's veto power, or the pardoning privileges of the Vestals; imagine the pupils passing to their classes and being expected to describe in Latin the scene which they witnessed, and in which they participated.

You will need scarcely an expression not already found in Cæsar and Cicero, while all that is most valuable in the objective method of teaching modern languages will be incorporated.

For the actual conduct of the campaign each party formed a committee corresponding to the ancient *divisores*, who played a very important, and not necessarily illegitimate, part in the ancient elections. Each committee was composed of 29 *divisores*, one from each *collegium*, who looked after the interests of his party there. Various modes of advertising were invented. Borrowing from another field of Roman life, the various parties chose colors—the *Optimates* purple, *Equestres* green, *Populares* yellow; and soon these colors were everywhere. It was incidentally a proof of the interest taken by the pupils, that in the very midst of the football season, in a school famous for its football enthusiasm, with a team not yet beaten, the display of party colors for the three weeks preceding the election quite eclipsed those of the school. One afternoon all the parties held mass-meetings simultaneously, and over half of the pupils were in attendance at one or another. That anything in their study of Latin should so arouse their interest that such a proportion should voluntarily remain after school hours to further its success, is still another indication that the political atmosphere of ancient Rome is the one most adapted to bring the pupil into sympathy with Roman life. Numerous other devices were resorted to by the various parties in furthering their cause. One secured arm-bands with the party colors and initials; another decorated the entire assembly hall with purple bunting; while the *Populares*, true to their character, fed the populace at lunch period with 2,000 cakes. The campaign fund of each party was limited to \$25, collected by voluntary subscriptions from its 150 candidates.

It was our constant aim to concentrate the interest of party rivalry upon each essential element in succession, a process the inevitable result of which was a clear grasp of every step in the organization, so closely is the proper manipulation of the campaign dependent on such an understanding. Thus, after the contest involved in drawing up the tickets had insured accurate knowledge of the names and grades of officers, the center of the conflict was transferred to the tribal organization, and to the election by each

tribe of a *curator tribus* and *tribunus aerarius*, the former of whom takes charge of the tribe at elections and the latter of its finances. Their selection at a preliminary election was naturally regarded as a test of party strength and as foreshadowing the final result. Consequently all the energy of the party managers was devoted for several days before this struggle to educating their followers, instructing them as to their duties — a procedure that at once secured a thorough comprehension of the tribal organization. This election took place one week before the final contest and occupied fifteen minutes, with the assembly organized as a *comitia tributa*. The prætor who presided had appointed as assistants 35 other officials — prætors, quæstors, etc. — each of whom conducted the election in a tribe. The 35 *curatores* elected were then summoned and instructed carefully as to their duties at the election.

Shortly before the election each party was allowed to send a representative to each class to present its case and seek support. He was introduced by the *princeps* and allowed just three minutes. The speeches, which were naturally delivered by the leading candidates on the various tickets, were partly in English, partly in Latin, and almost every one of the fifteen speakers showed a correct conception of his party's position in the state, and considerable familiarity with its history and leaders. On the next day each *collegium* held an election, at which it selected one candidate for each office (i. e., one for consul, one for prætor, etc.). Of these candidates the *collegium* became the *patronus*, and all the members were expected to support them on the final ballot. This reduced slightly the individual's freedom of choice, since 14 of the 150 candidates were prescribed by his *collegium*. The result of this election was practically to settle the choice of one consul and one censor. The parties made careful plans for this vital contest, and the various representatives in each guild endeavored to induce all members of their party to agree upon candidates and thus carry the guild.

Meantime the parties had been preparing their tickets and platforms, and during the week previous to the election these were issued in printed form in their proper colors. It is interesting to note that, without any suggestion, the platforms assumed a characteristic form. That of the *Populares* is of extreme simplicity, to be within reach

of the masses; while that of the *Equestres* is much more elaborate and pretentious—an adaptation of Cicero. They were composed by fourth-year pupils, and stand as they were written. Following are the platforms of the *Populares* and *Equestres* (the *Optimates* printed merely their ticket without a platform):

Nos Equestres haec, Quirites vobis pollicemur !

Primum—Summam in consulibus fore diligentiam summam in senatu auctoritatem, summam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, summam in omnibus bonis consensionem.

Deinde—Consules nec tempus ad festos dies celebrandos, nec tempus ad luxuriam nec pilam et alias voluptates, nec denique ad quietem animi et corporis sument sed videbunt ne quid civitas detrimenti capiat, et omnes cives diligenter ad summam rem publicam se incumbant.

Maxime—Consulibus Boydo et McMatho creandis omnia vetera mala rei publicae oppressa et vindicata esse et secundas res et pacem appropinquare templum Jani intercludi et aedificia pulcherrima in Forum ventura et doctrinam et litteras vigentes videbitis.

Denique—Atque omnia haec sic administrata erunt ut Jovis Optimi Maximi nutu gesta esse visura sint et consules sicut aliquos non ex hac urbe dilectos sed de caelo delapsos; et vos Quirites semper vivere velitis.

PARS POPULARIS

Haec est pars una in re publica quae est populi et populo; pars sola quae aequam iustitiam omnibus det. Aequitati et iustitiae omnibus temporibus stetit. Huius partis fuerunt multi clarissimi viri, quo numero maximi fuerunt Gracchi et Drusus et Marius. Hanc partem Caius Julius Caesar ad victoriam duxit.

Si candidati popularum creabuntur, tota res publica pace et serenitate fruatur, et omnes cives beati erunt.

Nostri consules et censores nulla mala patientur, et potestatem Romae extendent.

Si summum bonum Romae vultis, suffragia ad hanc partem fertote.

Since the preparation of 150 ballots would, if deferred till the actual hour of election, require too much time, they were distributed the day before and filled out in advance. We have deviated in several points from the ancient mode of balloting. In the first place, the election was concluded in one day, contrary to the actual custom, according to which the elections must sometimes have occupied weeks; secondly, to avoid the necessity of second elections, a plurality only was required, and the two candidates for censor receiving the highest number of votes were, for example, declared

elected; furthermore, in the *comitia centuriata* the vote of centuries consisting of but two citizens would, whenever these two disagreed, have to be decided by lot, and as this would require greater accuracy than we could hope for from 373 centuries, we substituted for separate ballots, counted and reported by centuries, a general centuriate ballot, containing spaces for two *censores*, two *consules*, eight *praetores*, inscribed by each voter with the name of his class, tribe, and century, to be collected by classes and counted as described below. Another year we shall be able to follow the ancient form more closely. Similar ballots, perforated to assist in counting, were prepared for the *comitia tributa*, the modified form electing the religious officials and the *concilium plebis*. Since these last were to be collected and counted by tribes, they needed to give no further information than the names of the candidates.

The only occasion on which our Roman state interfered with the regular school session was election day itself, when three of the six periods were omitted. The question, however, will naturally arise as to how much class time has been required for the explanation and organization of the state, and for the campaign preceding the election. It should, in the first place, be borne in mind that the form of our state here described is the result of three years' growth, and that each year the pupils have needed instruction only in the additional developments, not in the entire organization. If transplanted, it should be by a process resembling its original growth. In the second place, the idea at the basis of the experiment anticipated—and on good grounds, as results proved—the spontaneous generation of an interest thriving better outside the classroom than in it, that would make the essential elements as familiar to the pupils, and from similar causes, as the schedule and the stars of his football team. Even if the most important period in the life of the state, which will always center about the campaign and election, did for a month cause a marked loss in the amount of ground covered in the textbook, I should maintain that the exchange were a profitable one, and that, furthermore, the amount of text read, if that be made a criterion of progress, would ultimately be greatly increased by the greater interest, and consequently more rapid advance. As a matter of fact, the work of my own classes was not interrupted at all, while

the other Latin instructors estimated the cost at from one to three chapters of Cæsar, one to two chapters of Cicero, and two lessons in the beginning classes.

Two or three individual pupils were found who had permitted their interest to interfere with their other work, but, aside from the ease with which any such cases can be checked up, it was to me very refreshing that, amid the multitudinous and wholly extraneous interest by which pupils are today distracted, one could arise with equal spontaneity, awakening and absorbing their interest to the same degree, while at the same time forming an integral part of their classical studies.

In the conduct of the election this year we attempted for the first time to observe, so far as practical, the due formalities. Early in the morning a large red flag was hoisted beneath the Stars and Stripes, representing the flag that, hoisted on the Janiculum, originally assured the army, assembled as a *comitia centuriata* in the Campus Martius, that the fort was properly guarded. Later it became merely a signal for the people to assemble. Then the trumpet was blown at the four corners of the building, which thus represented now the city walls, now the *arx*, and finally from the rostrum where the consul was to preside. These formalities were essential to the convocation of the *comitia centuriata*. The signal bells were dispensed with, and at 9 A. M. heralds (*præcones*) proceeded from room to room, summoning all citizens and non-citizens alike to a *contio* in the Campus Martius. This preliminary *contio*, which, as I assumed—although the question is undecided—always preceded an electoral assembly, was of course unorganized. After a few introductory and explanatory remarks, the consul entered, preceded by the twelve lictors with *fascēs*. We have established the tradition that these lictors should include all the candidates for the consulship. The chief lictor cried out the approach of the consul, and a way was made to the platform, where the lictors lowered their *fascēs* in the presence of the sovereign people. The consul at once took charge, and, to secure an opportunity of introducing the *auspices*, assumed that, while they had been duly taken the night before, they had not yet been interpreted. He first expressed his regret at the popular disbelief in them, and, declaring ignorance to be the cause, sum-

moned me to explain them to the people. After a general account of augury, its varieties and significance, he turned to the officiating augur, described what he had seen in his *tabernaculum* the previous midnight, and asked an interpretation, which turned out to be favorable. At this point, however, impromptu thunder and lightning were quite unexpectedly introduced, and, as thunder was always unfavorable and the lightning was on the right, an immediate postponement of the assembly till the next day seemed imminent. The claims of the gods were satisfied, however, by assuming it to be the next day when the *comitia centuriata* actually organized an hour later.

The prayer and sacrifice, with which the *contio* regularly opened, we were obliged to omit on this occasion, but they will be added on the next. The consul proceeded to explain the purpose of the *contio*, and, after enumerating the offices to be filled by the succeeding *comitia*, appealed to all citizens to exercise the suffrage wisely. He then called upon representatives of the various parties, and each in a brief Latin speech presented the claims of his party and urged the citizens to vote for his candidate for consul. With the phrase, "impero qua convenit ad comitia centuriata," the consul directed the citizens to arrange themselves by centuries, and the non-citizens (i. e., non-Latin students) to withdraw. The *contio* then became theoretically a *comitia centuriata*; but obedience to this command was temporarily postponed, and the assembly without any change became a second *contio*, preceding the *comitia tributa* and presided over by a prætor, who now entered the hall attended by his two lictors, and with similar formalities summoned the *comitia tributa* immediately to assemble and elect the officers enumerated. At the conclusion of this *contio* the assembly was supposed to rearrange itself by tribes, but the actual procedure was again postponed, and it becomes a third *contio* preceding the *concilium plebis*. The *tribunus plebis*, selected by *comparatio*, enters unattended, and, with much less ceremony (the omission of the *auspices* may be especially noted), directed the patricians to withdraw and the plebeians to arrange themselves by tribes for the election of the plebeian officials. But before this was carried out, a fourth *contio* was held, presided over by the *pontifex maximus*, who summoned the *comitia tributa* and announced that he would select by lot 17 of the 35 tribes to vote for

the purely religious officials. When the *pontifex maximus* had pronounced the official formula, the four presidents with their lictors withdrew, and the four *contiones* (after an interval during which half the regular school session was held) thereupon successively arranged themselves, at the summons of *praetores*, into the four assemblies, each one of which was supposed, of course, to have followed directly its corresponding *contio*, directly the formula was pronounced. The *comitia centuriata* assembled first, arranged by its classes and centuries. The 70 *centuriones* of the *prima classis* drew lots from the consul to select the *centuria praerogativa*, which had the honor of announcing its vote first, and the ballot of this *centuria* was read to the assembly. The ballots were then collected in the order of classes by the consul and his assistants, the *custodes* and *diribitores*. No attempt was made on this occasion to represent the *saepta* and *pontes*.

The praetor at this point took charge and, at a signal from him, the assembly organized as a *comitia tributa*, with just six minutes needed for the change. The 35 *curatores* were then summoned to draw lots to select the *principium*, a distinction corresponding among the tribes to the *centuria praerogativa* among the centuries. The lot fell on the Falerna tribe, which thus had the privilege of announcing its vote first. Each tribe was then assigned to a classroom, corresponding to the ancient *saeptum*, to which it was to withdraw for the casting and counting of its ballots. The actual withdrawal was naturally postponed until after the other assemblies.

The next president (for reasons noted below) was the *pontifex maximus*, who summoned the 35 *curatores tribuum* to draw lots again, to determine what 17 tribes should vote for the religious officials. When this was decided, the tribes were, as before, directed to repair to their respective *saepta* and vote simultaneously.

Finally the *tribunus plebis* took the chair, and at his command all patricians withdrew, repairing to the tribal *saepta* previously assigned. The *concilium plebis* was held last, in order that this important act might be immediately carried out. The 35 *curatores* once more drew lots for the *principium*, and then all the tribes withdrew to their rooms, where each tribe, as it cast its ballots, represented successfully a unit of the *comitia tributa*, the religious assembly, and the *concilium plebis*.

The counting of the ballots was itself a problem. Each tribe, for example, cast its ballots for quæstor, and after finding what 20 candidates had carried that tribe (i. e., had received the largest number of votes), the list was sent to a central room. Here it was joined by lists from the other 34 tribes, and it was then decided what 20 candidates had carried the largest number of tribes. These were declared elected. The same procedure was followed for all the officials except consuls, censors, and prætors. Here the problem was to decide what candidates had carried the largest number of the 373 centuries. The ballots, which had been marked with the name of the tribe and century, and had been collected by classes, were arranged into the 18 centuries of *equites*, the 70 centuries of the *prima classis*, etc., down to the 5 extra centuries of *capite censi*. The vote of each century was then determined, often by lot, and 373 ballots were drawn up for the final count. It may be noted here that since the election the censor has so arranged the assembly that each century is organized as a unit — i. e., in each *classis* the *iuniores* and *seniores* are separated and arranged within themselves by tribes alphabetically. Thus all the *iuniores* of the *tertia classis*, *Aemilia* tribe, are seated together, have elected a centurion, and at the next election will make out one ballot for *consules*, *censores*, and *prætores*. This will produce directly the 373 ballots, and enable us to complete the count in half an hour.

The general result of the election was a victory for the *Populares*, and the consuls of our Roman state for the next year are Lowenthal and Boyd; the censors, Barss and Miss Bickford; the *pontifex maximus*, Miss Alden — a list indicating one important reform in the suffrage of ancient Rome.

Shortly after the election, the several officials who presided over the electoral assemblies made their respective *renuntiationes*, in which they read the list of successful candidates. Each presiding officer illustrated his power of rejection by refusing to confirm the election of one candidate. Lest an actual rejection might give offense, an invented personage with a Latin name was inserted in the lists, upon the rejection of whom the actually successful candidates were declared elected.

Somewhat later the *comitia curiata* assembled and, under the pres-

idency of the preceding consul, passed the *Lex de Imperio*, conferring the *imperium*, or right to exercise the powers of the office, upon the consuls and prætors, the only officials possessing it.

No ceremonies attended the entrance into office this year. Next year it is expected that the inauguration of the newly elected officials, together with the formal *abdication* of the old, will be properly observed.

The election over and the officials installed, the normal life of the state should begin. It is true that for the first two years the life of the state consisted solely of the election and the preparations for it. But with this year began a new era. While the development will naturally be slow, it will continue until the election and campaign have assumed their normal relation. The administration is conducted by a body of officials, the idea of which is borrowed from the Empire, called the *Publicum Consilium*, and composed of the two consuls, the two censors, the *pontifex maximus*, and one from each of the other bodies of officials. This body meets on one stated evening each month, and at such other times as the consul that has the *imperium* for the month decides. The consuls alternate monthly in the exercise of the *imperium*, although, of course, both possess it continuously. Through this *consilium* the various officials are assigned their duties, and to it they are immediately responsible. The consuls have general jurisdiction and supervision of all the activities of the state. The censors, as has already been noted, are engaged in reorganizing the *com. cent.* on a permanent basis, and are furthermore revising the list of patricians. The number of these has been reduced to sixty, and the honor of patricianship, subject to revision each term, is to be conferred upon the best Latin scholars, provided the average of their other studies equals their Latin. A visible mark of this honor is to be conferred upon these patricians shortly in the name of the state, in the form of a pin or medal, for which the censors are endeavoring to secure an original and characteristically Roman form, by offering a prize to that citizen who offers the best design. "Hoc modo," they state in their edict, "hanc artem humanissimam ac liberalissimam in nostra civitate fovebimus."

The first duty of the *pontifex maximus* was to make a complete record of all successful candidates, and secure such information about them as would be necessary—the year, address, rooms, etc.

She has also been devising some means of representing the *Fasti Consulares*, and a frieze in burnt wood will shortly adorn the walls of a room selected as the *Regia*, inscribed with the names of the chief officials elected each year. Under the general direction of the *pontifex*, the *virī epulones* are preparing for a Roman banquet to be made an annual custom of the graduating Latin students, at which, so far as practical, the ancient customs will be imitated. She has organized some of the appointive religious bodies, notably the *Vestales*, the *Fratres Arvales*, the *Flamines*; and their installation took place recently with interesting ceremonies. The *XV viri sacris faciundis* are preparing, under the same supervision, a body of Latin songs, which will be issued in permanent form, to be taught to the pupils and sung in assembly.

The managers of the *Equestres* party recently took occasion to present in two-minute speeches before all the classes a severe arraignment of what they termed the do-nothing policy of the *Populares* administration. The latter made answer a day or two later, and the outcome of the controversy is a charge of conspiracy brought against one of the *Populares* leaders. The prætors, who had in the meantime been assigned their respective judicial functions by lot, are preparing for a public trial under the direction of the *praetor urbanus*. The jury system is being worked out practically, the methods of procedure, etc.; while the expected conviction of the accused will be followed by an appeal to the people. The effort is being made to produce conditions resembling those of the Catilinarian conspiracy as far as possible.

The *Aediles* are considering the presentation of a Latin play next year, and making preliminary investigations in which they will gladly welcome any information from institutions where plays have been presented. They have charge also of all property belonging to the state, and provide for whatever insignia are needed, such as the *fascēs*, etc.

The *tribunus plebis* has made such changes in the arrangement of the tribal assemblies as to make the location of each tribe permanent hereafter, and has general supervision of the *curatores* and *tribuni aerarii*. It was naturally the *concilium plebis*, presided over by this officer, that voted to confer decorations on the patricians and levied a *tributum* upon the tribes through the *tribuni aerarii*.

The *quaestores*, who are divided into *quaestores urbani Italici* and *militares*, assist the censors in all their duties and take charge of the funds collected by the *tribuni aerarii*.

In a word, without permitting any one of the 150 officials to assume burdens that would interfere with regular school work, we have attempted to assign to all some characteristic duties that would make clear to them their position in the state.

It may be noted in general that, while the present year represents 64 B. C., the effort has been made to present each assembly, official, and function in its most characteristic form, no matter at what period it possessed that form. This has led to some minor chronological inconsistencies, which are, however, more valuable than would be a strict adherence to a specified period, when the forms appearing would often be unintelligible. We intend ultimately to select four dates in the last century of the Republic, when the election was especially critical—such as 133, 91, 64, and 50—and thus secure a definite historical setting.

It will be unnecessary to restate here the valuable results I am confident are derived from the inauguration of our Roman state. Its complete success here has been due to the presence of three indispensable conditions, the absence of any one of which would be fatal: absolute faith in his project in whosoever engineers it, sufficient to insure persistence until results appear; the hearty support of school authorities; and, most essential of all, a corps of enthusiastic Latin instructors, to whose professional spirit and hearty co-operation is due whatever of success our Roman state has thus far achieved.